/275 cont./

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ẽwãguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

799 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
793 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character.
[614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

57 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from
The beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Koslowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

(1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, announcing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They said to aroe echeba:

> [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together—they are all cultural acts.

Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the birds and he created the food they eat. He created the animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is

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1 "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

2 "Ure awu kiage barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu. e kaje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians: the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas
164 in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today many young men and women have already lost a large part
• 262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

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773 fixed, but frequently change faster than the mythology that
[121] reflects them.

In another myth of the Bororo the man surviving after the great inundation, which destroyed everything, populated
[262] the earth anew by means of marriage to a deer. For this reason, today, in general, eating deer meat is avoided.
[753] The Bororo believe that they would get sick if they ate
[789] it. Only in very rare cases is the magic of a especially powerful bari capable of making this meat edible.

The Bororo told me: "There was a man who commanded the men, and a woman who commanded the women." The man was Baitogogo, the first and greatest chief and who has,
[121] in the mythology, an important role as civilizer. This mythical division of the command between a man and a woman proves the complete social equality of the sexes.

562 In summary, one can say, concerning the social position of the woman among the eastern Bororo: it is true that the female sex is considered very different from the male one, but in general it is not considered either
[113] inferior or superior to it. /A bibliography for the "Bororo
[128] orientais" is given on pp. 323-324 in the original source; see the foreign text. The end plates that refer to the Bororo, 9-14, 16-24, follow/.

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

[p. 40-F]

AFTER BITING FISH, shaman passes it on to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can rest of Bororo eat. The rite is preceded by shaman's hypnotizing himself into a trance, during which he is "possessed" by *Bope*, a powerful spirit.

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6:Kozak C-5 (ca. 1964) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

Mr. Kozak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

all the villagers gather round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over.

When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition.

To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows.

Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community.

[p. 41-A]

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None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

On January 9, 1901, we reached the Rio Ponte de Pedra, about 45 miles north of its junction with the Rio São Lourenço, where the latter bends nearly westward. Senhor Antonio had recently thrown up here a simple palm-branch, stake-walled ranch, near an important village of the Bororó tribe on friendly terms. The place is called Ta-Dare-Mano Paro, "potato bank," or "place where tubers grow."

As soon as our arrival became known our ranch, scarcely more than an open shed, began to fill rapidly with our painted friends of all ages and sizes and of both sexes, who came to observe us and to see the marvelous things we had brought from our enchanted world. They pour in upon us regularly at the break of day and stay faithfully till the shadows of night begin to deepen; and though coming and going constantly, we always have our full complement. If we open one of our pack-mule trunks, our visitors are on the alert to handle whatever may strike their fancy. If we eat, every mouthful of food is closely scrutinized, and whatever we may do is observed with the closest attention. They recline on our boxes, sprawl on our tables, lean against the posts, squat on the ground, and hunch down around our pot as it boils, always leaving a patch of paint wherever they sit or lean. Some smoke, others lazily pick and eat the kernels from a roasted ear of corn, others nibble the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm that furnishes a considerable part of their food; the boys devour bits of fish roasted black, or shoot at a stick or a stump with their crude bows and arrows. Just outside the door men gossip, vacantly gazing, but never once toward the one they address, or they ask us a few questions in the limited language that we know in common. The women and children usually form an outer fringe to this group. Whenever there is prospect of obtaining beef our congregation is at once largely increased. They never steal anything that is distinctively ours, though they will take anything we have bought of them if they have an opportunity.

The long, straight, coarse black hair of both males and females hangs in a tangled mass about their shoulders, except above the forehead, where it is kept chopped off to form bangs. Nearly all the single young plaster these bangs with a sort of red putty made from the small yellowish-red fruit of the burity palm and fish oil, and the same paste is used to paint the entire body. Boys and girls who are esteemed by their parents also have the foretop arranged in this way, and a few of the latter who are regarded with special favor have it plaited with a layer of beautiful red feathers. Again, young men, as well as boys and girls, who are liked by their parents

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

each day during the weeks that we remained in their vicinity, 123
and stayed by us faithfully until dark; and though coming 152
and going continually, we had always a full house. If I opened a trunk, they were on the alert to peer into it, and to handle whatever struck their fancy. When we ate, every mouthful of food we took and our manner of eating; or if we wrote, or conversed, or photographed, or made our toilet, our every act was observed with the closest attention and commented upon in muttering tones by the horde of naked savages that encircled us, of which the women and children formed the outer ring.

They sat or lounged upon our boxes, benches and tables, 517
or what served as a table, leaned against the stake walls of [123]
our hut, sat cross-legged on dry ox-hides on the ground, or [516]
upon flat stones or slabs of wood, or squatted around our pot of food as it boiled at the camp-fire, eyeing it hungrily, always leaving a patch of red grease on anything they sat upon or reclined against. A few dozed occasionally; some [276]
smoked when they could get a bit of tobacco; others roasted [252]
hunks of beef at our fire, or lazily picked off and ate the [262]
kernels from a roasted ear of corn; several nibbled pieces [357]
of the heart of a dwarf palm; while others, the boys, slowly devoured bits of fish that had been roasted black, peeling back the skin and scales as they ate; or amused themselves shooting with rude bows and arrows at a stump just outside our hut. The men gossiped a little among themselves in [521]
gutteral sounds, looking vacantly into space as expressionless [122]
as a professional gambler, and never once glancing toward the one addressed; or else asked us a few questions in the limited language that we knew in common. They would [516]
sit for hours at a time in every conceivable position and distortion of the body, uttering scarcely a word.

They are very fond of tobacco, and resorted to various 123
tricks to obtain a small piece. Whenever they did any work [276]
for us, or made a trade, they invariably demanded a piece of tobacco from my companion in part payment. Besides trad- [431]
ing, they availed themselves of numerous expedients to obtain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazil.

The palm-tree in its numerous varieties, is the never-failing friend of the "children of the wilderness." It will provide them with food of some kind every day in the year, even when there is nothing else to be had. Every day, unfailingly, they may obtain the white, cheese-like heart of a kind that grows but six feet high. The outer rings are stripped off, leaving a vegetable like the solid part of a cabbage. I found it an excellent food, when cooked. The savages eat it raw. The spongy, fiberous trunk of another palm, when pounded and wrung out, yields a white, starchy liquid, like milk. This is boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm. It is considered good broth. Or, the uncooked liquid may be evaporated, and the starch thus obtained made into a kind of bread. The large, yellow, plum-like fruit of the burity-palm is eaten raw with a relish by the Bororó, though I found it far from palatable.

Another variety of palm furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose-egg. This nut is first thrown into the fire for a few minutes, then the thin outer shell is peeled off and a layer of an insipid substance, somewhat like slippery-elm, is scraped from it and eaten. Next, the nut, which is very thick, is split, and the small, white, woody kernel removed and eaten raw, or pulverized in a wooden mortar and made into a cake, which is wrapped in green leaves and baked in the ashes. The Bororó consider this a delicacy. Still other varieties of palm furnish the Bororó the material for his bows and arrows, and cordage for fish-nets and harpoon lines, besides the material with which to build his hut.

Charles Darwin describes a very interesting palm found on the Andean ridge. When fallen up hill and the top cut off, it yields an incredible quantity of sweet sap, from which syrup and sugar are made.

But the most remarkable tree is the famous "vegetable cow," found in Venezuela and in the Amazonian forests, which yields an amazing quantity of milk. Humboldt describes this wonderful plant in his book of travels in tropical America.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

their tribe, and always responding *parduku?*—I do not know, who does?—when asked their names. This *baptismal* ceremony is not performed for a female child. 551 553

They love their children, whether boys or girls, and are kind to them. Very little parental restraint seems to be exercised over them; and they are allowed to roam about and occupy themselves entirely as their own wills may suggest. Parents seldom or never whip their children. But if a father should whip his child, it is regarded as abandoned thereafter, and is adopted by relatives. 855 [841] [597]

The Bororó are remarkable whistlers, and seem able by this means to communicate with one another at a distance with surprising fullness and clearness. Observing them, I noticed, moreover, that when one of them wished to take anything from the ground, he did not stoop and grasp it with the hand, but instead, took it up with the toes, passing it from the foot to the hand. 198 516

They have no words for higher numbers than three or four; therefore, to indicate five, they raise one hand and display the fingers and thumb; for ten, they elevate both hands, displaying all the fingers and thumbs; and for twenty, they elevate both hands, droop them for an instant toward the toes, then again raise them, saying by this act, twenty. To convey the idea of a large number, the hand is given a horizontal swing, pointing to the trees of the surrounding forest, which act means to say, "as numerous as the trees of the forest." Or, if the primitive man should be standing on the sand banks by the river, he will take up a handful of sand, and, with a sweep of the hand, scatter it to the wind, saying by this act, "as numberless as the sands." 802

One day, I saw a loaf of palm-nut bread delivered to a *mèdo* at the entrance to the great hut, which he was to divide among several of his fellows. I was curious to observe how he would divide it, in view of the fact that he could not count. First, he cut in into halves, then looked thoughtfully at his companions as if calculating how to get an equal portion for each one. Then he quartered it and again looked deliberately around. [262]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

of feathers, or of the teeth and claws of beasts, and one or two articles of wearing apparel made of bark. To us, they were merely a heap of rubbish, but to the poor natives, precious treasures. Having vanished in flame, the effects were considered transferred to the invisible world, and so *transubstantiated* that they could be of service to the newly arrived shade, or *bopi*.

One reason that the Bororó give for burning the belongings of the deceased is, that if they were allowed to remain in the hut, the family, constantly reminded by them of their lost ones, would be weeping, wailing and uttering lamentations continually, for it is their custom to cry and jibber loudly whenever anything revives the memory of their dead. Another reason for burning the effects is, that if they should not be burned, and hence not transferred to the shadow land, the soul would return to haunt and injure the family.

It was now about sunset, and the ceremonies of the day being concluded, all the men seated themselves cross-legged upon mats in two groups just outside the great hut, and a primitive banquet, or collation, was served. The banquet always forms an important part of every social function among savages.—Indeed, a social function among them is inconceivable without it. But do not banquets, suppers and buffet lunches constitute an important part, if not the most important part, of social events among civilized men? Yet civilized men do not usually have a banquet at a funeral, with the decomposing corpse lying but a few yards in front of them.

The chief items on the menu at this savage banquet were big clay potfuls of a kind of broth made of a starchy liquid wrung from the spongy stems of a dwarf palm and mixed with a sauce made from the yellow, insipid fruit of the burity-palm, called *pyky* (peekee), *pyky* eaten raw, three kinds of wild potatoes, boiled or baked in the ashes, and a sort of cocoanut bread made by pulverizing in a mortar the meats of palmnuts and baking the mass in the ashes. There were no condiments. As each pot or tray of food appeared, a cheer was given by the group for whom it was intended.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Chapter XXXV.

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THE SORCERERS.—EXORCISING AND FRIGHTENING AWAY DEMONS.—THE MYSTERY INSTRUMENTS.

The souls of the departed are believed by the Bororó to 775 dwell, for a time at least, in the bodies of certain fish and 825 mammals. But they do not appear to identify the disembodied soul—*bopi*—with the creature it inhabits, as do those people who believe in what is known as "transmigration of the soul." The Bororó soul is simply a tenant in the body of the creature it inhabits, maintaining a separate, independent existence, and continuing forever, supposedly, without any change occurring in its personality or character; though it is doomed to suffer evictions everlastingly from its temporary fleshly abodes at the hands of the conjurer, or because of the natural death and destruction of the body of the creature it lives in. The Bororó say that the moment a newly disembodied spirit—the soul of a member of their tribe who has just died—enters the body of some creature, the bones of the soul's former self disappear from the cemetery. The evil-minded sorcerer, doubtless, is responsible for the disappearance of the bones—if they really disappear. The Bororó do not think that every wild creature is tenanted by some wandering *bopi*—soul—but only those that bear unusual markings, such as especially bright colors, or are very large, or have some other peculiarity. They much admire a fish called [262] *dourada* by the Brazilians, part of the body of which is a bright,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

795 825 262 golden color, and like to think that the spirits of their beloved dead dwell in the bodies of these fish. Nevertheless, they catch them in large numbers and eat them, believing that only the unusual individuals are inhabited by a *bopi*. But while 795 825 262 756 789 they do not think that all the fish of any specie shelter lost souls in their bodies, they do think, seemingly, that every tapir, and every wild pig, and every alligator, and possibly every member of some other family of animals, shelters the shade of one or another of their departed tribesmen; and they never kill one of these creatures when a sorcerer is not within reach to exorcise the soul, for they dare not under any circumstances eat the flesh of such a creature until the sorcerer has cast out the soul. They believe that if they should eat of it, they would surely die. Doubtless the sorcerer would see to it that death resulted from such sacrilege; for if one should eat of such flesh and suffer no harm, like going to heaven without the aid of masses, the lucrative business of exorcising demons would come to naught, and the crafty sorcerer, like Demetrius and his crowd, would be ruined. This functionary always helps himself to the first and best cut from every carcass over which he performs his incantations to expell a demon. His fellow-tribesmen always treat him well, as they dread to incur his displeasure.

795 825 756 789 The ceremony of exorcising a *bopi* from the body of a fish, for instance, usually occurs late in the afternoon, and at the entrance to the hut of the sorcerer where the carcass has been deposited for this purpose. The sorcerer stands over the carcass, having his feet wide apart, arms uplifted and outstretched, entire body rigid and trembling violently, as if he had clonic spasms or convulsions, and face upturned toward the declining sun upon which he calls in a series of wild, maniacal yells. Following this, he relaxes somewhat and slaps the carcass rapidly and hysterically from end to end, uttering continuously strange noises, and finally, expectorates and blows into its mouth. This ceremony lasts but a few minutes.

241 262 756 789 Corn also appears to have some connection with the demons, or is under a *tabu*, for the Bororó will not, under any

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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circumstances, eat corn from a field until a few ears have first been brought to the sorcerer that he may perform his incantations over them, biting into them, dog-like. After this, the corn from that field may be freely gathered and eaten without further ceremony. 241 262 756 789

The souls of the departed, the *bopi*, are believed also to haunt and plot evil against the living, who pass their days in almost constant fear, and even in terror, because of them. Every few days, one or another of these superstitious children of the wilds imagines he sees a ghost or spook skulking in the jungle, or some strange object or shadow, or peculiar movement of the branches of the trees, or hears an unusual or seemingly uncanny sound. In a frenzy, he hastens to report what he has seen or heard, and, instantly, the whole city of savagery is wildly excited. These spooks, or wandering souls are nearly always seen just as solemn, mysterious night is taking possession of the land. Sometimes, the scare is a pure invention of the sorcerer. 775

These sorcerers, or tribal priests, are not chosen or appointed by men, the Bororó say, but by the *bopi*. Their calling to the priestly office appears to be somewhat in this manner: Some day, a Bororó is taken with some kind of a fit, and the village sorcerer, is called in to declare the nature of the case, and to say if the patient will live or die. Having considered the matter cunningly, he may say to the family something like this: "Piadudu is in mortal combat with a *bopi*. If he surrenders to the demon he will become a sorcerer, but if he continues to resist, he will die." If Piadudu recovers, it is thought that he has given himself up to the *bopi*, and therefore fully qualified for the priesthood. But it seems to me that the certificate of priesthood lies largely in the ability of a Bororó to throw himself at will into a savage ecstasy or trance; or he may possess some powers of "mediumship," or metaphysical powers believed to emanate from the *bopi*, together with a good degree of native cunning and ready wit. These sorcerers are the most depraved men in the tribe. They are the bane of tribal life. They must nurture the illusion 756

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 264 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two 276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 264 616 [252] [415] A few hours after sunrise, an *arda* appeared at the entrance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or sixteen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at [261] least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two 574 576 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

/448 cont./

291 native straw cuff; as soon as they were outside the walls of the city
177 they took everything off, packed up the finery, and merely kept their green cards around their necks for a few more days as a memento of the conversion.

142 They were tall, sturdy chaps, striking on account of thick
199 forehead bulges, without eyebrows and lashes. They were delighted with the sights of Cuyabá, where they were spoiled like children, except that they were given alcohol instead of sweets.

[192] They were particularly delighted with Wilhelm's opera hat; they greeted the snapping sound with a bear-growl hu hú of laughter and slapped Wilhelm on the shoulder in appreciation.

● [262] When they were in the house with us they always wanted to drink or to eat "mandioca" or "tapira," which meant beef and not tapir, or to sleep or comb their hair. They found friends everywhere, and when they stood with us at the house door every passing Negress would nod to them sociably: "Ah, the compadres! How are you, compadre? Está bom, compadre."

114 On 14 March 1888 we set out to visit Thereza Christina, but we were obliged to forgo visiting Izabel. Duarte was staying longer in Cuyabá and wanted to join us later. The Bakaïrí Antonio and the two comrades /Kameraden here means peons/, Carlos and Peter, accompanied us. The mules were once again in such good condition that we were able to use the best ones as riding animals.

122 Our first destination, the old military colony, lies 16°32', 6
[131] south latitude and 0°59', 9 east of Cuyabá on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, almost exactly /Pl. XXV appears here/
[133] /449/ southeast of Cuyabá. We were obliged to cross a few tributaries of the Rio Cuyabá, climb the chapada /plateau/, and, half-way there, on 18 March, reached the Fazenda S. José at an altitude of 555 meters above the plaza of the Cuyaban cathedral or matriz /mother church/. To the southwest of it, lower down, are the fazendas of Cupim and Palmeiras, which chiefly provide for the colonies. Beyond S. José the country is uninhabited; the small white farm, walled like a fortress, appears in deep solitude a depression between bare slopes covered

[Text continues on P. 553]

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461 worked so neatly and carefully that the masters of the catechesis should have been delighted. Even the idiot Dyapokuri was incessantly busy, though he would now and then regale the others with a little joke of a voluntary or involuntary nature.

On days when there was no hunting, there were about 40 men
252 happily at work in the baitó. Meanwhile the women would be cooking in the huts and now and then one of the men would disap-
264 pear to fetch food. As soon as he returned and became visible
[152] in the wall there were individual "hm hm" of appreciation, and scarcely had he drawn in his arm holding aloft the steaming dish, appearing last, when, with a general shrill ah! the whole com-
[262] pany would shout for joy. Large pot-bowls were filled with thick, sourish maize mush or maize gruel, and on top /487/ lay large river mussels to be scooped up with a spoon. Then Moguyokuri would stride about, place his strong hand on the thick skulls of a number of young or old, and the chosen ones would squat around the pot and resolutely dig /Figs. 139-140 appear here/ their shell spoons into the mush. Anyone comparing this patriarchal tableau with the scene of the Brazilian meat distribution (page 562) was bound to be filled with righteous indignation at that disgraceful business.

252 The idiot Dyapokuri roasted the beef that was snatched dur-
372 ing the "feeding of the animals." He fetched fire from one of
[177] the huts. Fire no longer had to be kindled by rubbing, because the administration furnished Swedish matches. The original method of the Bororó was the same as on the Kulisehu. Canella brava, Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus, was regarded as the best wood.

412 There was, of course, no longer anything to be seen of stone
[177] axes and cutting fish teeth; axes and knives were present in abundance. But all kinds of things from the old days were still
[237] to be observed. For instance, the Bororó, when they ate, cut off pieces of meat in front of their mouths with bamboo splinters; as a scraping chisel they used the capibara tooth, up to eight centimeters long, fastened to a small stick cf. Fig. 26 /see p. 205/ from the Schingú and, in the present connection, Fig. 139 /see p. 609/; they filed this tooth with the tooth of the paca

/490 cont./

272 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice
514 of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to
262 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages
241 because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable
462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small
323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not
412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

415

Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room.
[515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the

/490 cont./

262 515 little operation with a fork taken from our table already set). "They eat sand fleas /491/ because these, after all, consume their 252 blood too." All game was roasted in its skin, only the intestines were boiled; tripe was the speciality of Dyapokuri. Everything 262 was eaten "that there was in the forest and in the river." The caymans shot with the harpoon arrow were very popular. Campo deer were neither eaten nor killed.

231 Tame araras are not eaten or killed. They catch the ornamental birds young, bring them up, and pluck out their feathers. 232 Clemente said that they also knew how to color the araras yellow by rubbing the plucked areas with the sap of a tree. The procedure, familiar to many Indians, was thus probably discovered in the medical treatment of the animals who were forcibly divested of their feathers. I shall return later to the loving consideration for deer and arara.

224 [264] [171] Although etiquette did not by any means prevent the Bororó from eating together, as it did the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ and Karayá /Caraja/, they instead had other peculiar customs which clearly show that tribes dependent on s[illegible]t hunting booty must in one way or another seek methods of preventing arguments and quarrels in [252] connection with the distribution. There was first of all a most striking rule: no one roasted the game that he himself had shot, but gave it to another to roast! Similar wise precaution is ob- [262] served for previous skins and teeth. After a jaguar has been slain, a great festival is celebrated; the meat is eaten. The hunter, however, does not get the skin and the teeth, but the nearest relative of the Indian man or woman who died most recently, about [554] which I shall not as yet go into detail. The hunter is honored; he receives gifts of arara feathers from everyone and the bow decorated with oaussú bands. The most important rule which prevents discord, however, is connected with the calling of the medicine man, about whom I must therefore first of all report.

756 [575] The Bororó distinguish between the bari and the aroetauarari. The two are not mutually exclusive, however; both are medicine men, but the aroetauarari is primarily the leader of the singing and dancing in the aróe song or dance, the bari primarily the attending physician. The Brazilians called the former "padre,"

/492 cont./

756 784 825 [775] simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara, [262] tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends," [824] who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

/511 cont./

775 The usual thing is that after his death the Bororó, man or woman, becomes a red arara, in other words, a bird, like the soul in the dream. The flesh and the skin decay, the bones are delivered as ceremoniously adorned as could possibly be demanded by the deceased, his clothing is packed up with him or burned, the relatives give up all the household goods whose use he shared, they even give him some of their blood -- perhaps, with all this, he is able to give himself back his old form; at any rate, the survivors /512/ have not deprived him of anything, now he must not demand more, he need not find his way back and
775 should be content with his arara-existence. The red araras are
772 Bororó; in fact, the Bororó go even further, as I have mentioned
825 on page 417, and say "we are araras." This is either a subsequent exaggeration, which merely shows in a striking manner how vastly indifferent the Indians are to the scruples of our zoologists,
[262] or the soul-bird is thought of as an arara. They never eat araras, they never kill tame ones, they grieve when one dies, only wild ones are intentionally killed for their feather ornamentation, and on that account their tame brothers must also submit to a systematic plucking.

775 The deceased of other tribes become other birds. The Negroes
825 become black urubus. The choice is not unfortunate; color,
[186] emanation, and oddity in the case of a malevolent one can easily arouse them, and the Bororó did not love the Negroes. I asked Maria what I would turn into after my death and, in all seriousness, was given the flattering reply, "a white egret." Even in
[774] life the soul is a bird, and this does not seem particularly strange, since in the dream it reaches distant places with great swiftness and a person who can do this simply is a bird to the hunter; which type of bird is the lot of one tribe and which one is that of another is a secondary question. The fact that a tribe will pick out the finest ornamental bird for itself, one which incidentally also talks, the feathers of which furnish magnificent ornaments for the living and the dead, is not difficult to understand. The Bororó, however, are not blue araras, but red araras, just as the Negroes are, or will become, black birds, and the Whites, white ones.

/512 cont./

775 Now, however, the medicine men, in a no less understand-
756 able extension, turn into other animals besides birds after their
825 death, and, to be sure, fish, sheatfish, jahú, and especially dourado, fish which are all large and tasty. For this reason the bari must be present when they are killed and must consecrate
[262] them; cf. page 615. The deer has a special position. "I do not know," Clemente said, "what sympathy they have for the deer; some eat it, to be sure, if it is consecrated. The aroetaurari, too, may eat it only if it is consecrated, others would die of it; they very rarely kill it, even if it comes quite close. I do not know whether it is a saint for them (não sei, se é santo d'elles)."

Not even a Bororó, but only a dog one day killed a deer; one man tasted the meat, became ill on the same day, and died after a time. Clemente was able to tell about another case of a man who killed a large, broad dourado and died soon after. "You see," said the Bororó, when they had finished the bone-basket, "the dourado was a medicine man and killed him."
/Pl. XXX appears here./

[772] /513/ The assumption here, as we also found among the
[171] Kulisehu Indians, is the view, still flourishing with its original vigor among the Bororó on their hunter level, that animals and
[761] human beings are merely different persons. The death of one of their own is the act of revenge of one that was killed. A hunter becomes sick or dies -- who is to be charged with this foul trick? An animal-person whom he himself killed and who is taking revenge; thus, in view of the ever-present possibility of this explanation, the general view necessarily arises that the dead takes the living. But how does the slain animal do this? Yes..., there was a medicine man inside it...., one who can do everything, without one's knowing how he does it.

775 Thus, the attempts at explanation intermesh, and an
772 occasional vicious circle does not matter where so much tradi-
825 tion and emotion are involved. It would make understanding more difficult rather than promoting it if one were to dismiss the view of the Bororó about the existence after death with the

[Text Continues on P. 646]